Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 TEL AV 00657 141328Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
----------016179 141332Z /40
Z O 141305Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 618
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T TEL AVIV 657

EXDIS TREAT AS NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY AND ATHERTON FROM AMBASSADOR

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV XF IS EG US
SUBJ: AGENDA FOR JERUSALEM TALKS

REFS: (A) STATE 10972, (B) TEL AVIV 628

1. I HAD AN EXTREMELY FRANK TALK WITH DAYAN THIS MORNING (JANUARY 14) ON THE BASIS OF YOUR COMMENTS IN REF A ABOUT THE CURRENT SITUATION ON THE AGENDA ISSUE. I TOLD HIM ABOUT BEGIN'S ADAMANCY LAST NIGHT ON THE PHONE WITH ME (REF B), STRESSED THE IMPOSSI-BILITY OF GOING TO SADAT WITH LANGUAGE ON POINT B WHICH RULES OUT IN ADVANCE ANY DISCUSSION OF THE TERRITORIES, AND SAID THAT NO ONE COULD RECONCILE THIS POSITION WITH BEGIN'S REPEATED STATEMENTS THAT "EVERYTHING IS NEGOTIABLE." I SAID THAT IF BEGIN DID NOT COME AROUND ON POINT B, WE WILL BE IN A VERY SERIOUS SITUATION. I MADE ALL OF THE POINTS WITH ELABORATION IN PARA TWO OF REF A, AND CAME DOWN VERY HARD ON THE LAST TALKING POINT TO THE EFFECT THAT YOU SEE LITTLE POINT IN YOUR COMING FOR A PROLONGED
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 TEL AV 00657 141328Z

NEGOTIATION OVER THE AGENDA. DAYAN GOT THE POINT IMMEDIATELY.

2. DAYAN SAID THAT QUITE FRANKLY HE HAD DISAGREED LAST NIGHT WITH BEGIN OVER POINT B BUT COULD NOT ARGUE IT ANY FURTHER OVER THE TELEPHONE. HE THINKS BEGIN IS WRONG IN MAKING THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN DISCUSSION OF

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

INHABITANTS AND DISCUSSION OF TERRITORIES.
APPARENTLY WHAT BEGIN SAID TO HIM WAS THAT THE
EGYPTIANS WERE IN NO POSITION TO NEGOTIATE OVER THE
STATUS OF THE TERRITORIES, THAT THAT COULD BE DONE
ONLY WITH JORDANIANS AND REPRESENTATIVE PALESTINIANS
PRESENT. DAYAN SAID TO ME THAT THIS ARGUMENT WOULD
APPLY EQUALLY TO ANY NEGOTIATION OVER THE STATUS OF
THE INHABITANTS, THEREFORE HE SAW IT AS A NON SEQUITUR.
HE PROMISED TO MAKE A MAXIMUM EFFORT THIS EVENING TO
GET BEGIN TO AGREE TO OUR FORMULATION FOR POINT B.

3. AFTER THINKING FURTHER ABOUT THE PROBLEM, DAYAN HAS
JUST TELEPHONED ME TO ASK THAT I OBTAIN YOUR IMMEDIATE
REACTION TO THE FOLLOWING. HE HAS DRAFTED AN ALTERNA-
TIVE VERSION OF POINT B, DRAWING IT FROM WHAT BEGIN
HAD ALREADY AGREED TO IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE
UNITED STATES OVER PARA THREE OF THE FAMOUS US-
ISRAELI WORKING PAPER (WHICH USES THE PHRASE "WEST BANK
AND GAZA ISSUES"), AND ALSO DRAWING IT FROM POINT D
OF KAMEL'S MOST RECENT LETTER TO HIM OF JANUARY 12.

4. DAYAN'S REFORMULATION FOR B WOULD READ AS FOLLOWS:
"THE GUIDELINES FOR NEGOTIATIONS RELATING TO THE WEST
BANK AND GAZA ISSUES, THROUGH TALKS IN WHICH EGYPT,
JORDAN, ISRAEL AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINIAN
ARABS WOULD PARTICIPATEAMMZ
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5. DAYAN SAYS THAT HE THINKS THIS WOULD MEET BEGIN'S
POLAL ABOUT THE EGYPTIANS NOT BEING IN A POSITION TO
NEGOTIATE THEMSELVES OVER THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, AND
IT WOULD LEAVE COMPLETELY OPEN TO BE ADDRESSED THE ISSUES
OF BOTH TERRITORY AND STATUS OF INHABITANTS.
I URGED HIM AGAIN TO TRY HIS BEST TO SELL OUR SIMPLER
LANGUATE. HE DOES NOT BELIEVE HE CAN DO SO WITHOUT
DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM BEGIN HAS POSED. HE ASKED ME
WHETHER IF BEGIN ACCEPTED THIS REVISED VERSION OF B,
OR IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT THAT HE ACCEPTED OUR VERSION
OF B, THAT HE (DAYAN) COULD BE ASSURED BY YOU THAT WE
WILL NOT RPT NOT ASK THE ISRAELIS TO MAKE FURTHER
CHANGES. I TOLD HIM I DID NOT SEE HOW ANYONE COULD
GIVE SUCH FLAT ASSURANCE, SINCE WE HAD NO WAY OF
BEING CERTAIN THAT SADAT WOULD ACCEPT EITHER VERSION.
HE SAYS HE UNDERSTANDS THAT, BUT THAT HE WANTS YOUR
ASSURANCE THAT WE AT LEAST WILL STAND BY WHATEVER VERSION
BEGIN MIGHT NOW BE PERSUADED TO AGREE TO.

6. I ASKED DAYAN WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF YOU GAVE SUCH
AN ASSURANCE AND THEN SADAT WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE THREE

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

POINTS. HIS RESPONSE WAS THAT IN THAT CASE HE GUESSED THE CONFERENCE WILL HAVE TO OPEN WITHOUT AGREEMENT ON THE AGENDA. I AGAIN REFERRED TO THE LAST TALKING POINT OF PARA TWO IN REF A TO MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT YOU WERE NOT INTERESTED IN COMING HERE TO THRASH OVER SEMANTICS ON THE AGENDA.

7. DAYAN IS WAITING TO HEAR BACK FROM ME YOUR REACTION: (A) TO HIS REVISED LANGUAGE FOR POINT B, AND (B) WHETHER YOU WILL ASSURE HIM PERSONALLY THAT YOU WILL ASK FOR NO MORE CHANGES IF HE SELLS BEGIN ON THIS FORMULA. HE SAYS THAT IF WE COME BACK AT HIM AGAIN TOMORROW AFTER HE HAS GOTTEN BEGIN TO AGREE HIS OWN SITUATION WILL BE UNDERMINED.

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8. I HAVE PROMISED DAYAN A REPLY FROM YOU OR AT LEAST FROM ME NO LATER THAN 1745 THIS AFTERNOON JANUARY 14. HE WILL BE MEETING WITH BEGIN SHORTLY AFTER 1800 HOURS. LEWIS

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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

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